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## **A comparative perspective on mothers ethnic homophily among minority groups in Germany and Israel**

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**Abstract:** Despite beneficial effects of minority members' contact with majority members, studies have repeatedly shown minorities' tendency of having predominantly intraethnic social contacts, a phenomenon called ethnic homophily. This study aimed at examining ethnic homophily among mothers belonging to minority groups in Germany and Israel. Mothers from four minority groups participated. Groups were defined by level of societal segregation (higher vs. lower residential and cultural segregation of minority groups within a given society) and cultural distance to the majority society (close vs. distant in terms of religion and value similarity with majority population). We expected group differences, with ethnic homophily being highest among minority mothers living in more segregated societies with a large cultural distance to the majority population and vice versa. We also expected within-group variation, with higher levels of homophily being reported by women who use the majority language less frequently, have lower orientations toward natives, have higher orientations toward their own minority, and perceive higher levels of discrimination. The total sample included 1,223 mothers (ethnic German diaspora repatriates and Turks in Germany, Russian Jewish diaspora migrants, and Arabs in Israel). We assessed homophily in strong and weak social network ties. Results revealed the highest homophily (for weak and strong ties) among Israeli Arab mothers and lowest among ethnic German diaspora repatriate mothers with the two other groups located in between the two. Use of majority language emerged as rather universal predictor related to both outcomes in all minority groups, whereas minority and majority orientations were outcome or group specific, respectively.

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# A Comparative Perspective on Mothers' Ethnic Homophily among Minority Groups in Germany and Israel

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### Abstract

Despite beneficial effects of minority members' contact to majority members, studies have repeatedly shown minorities' tendency of having predominantly intraethnic social contacts, a phenomenon called ethnic homophily. This study aimed at examining ethnic homophily among mothers belonging to minority groups in Germany and Israel. The female participants represented four minority groups, which were defined by level of societal segregation (higher vs. lower residential and cultural segregation of minority groups within a given society) and cultural distance to the majority society (close vs. distant in terms of religion and value similarity with majority population). We expected group differences, with ethnic homophily being highest among minority mothers living in more segregated societies with a large cultural distance to the majority population and vice versa. We also expected within-group variation, with higher levels of homophily being reported by women who use the majority language less frequently, have lower orientations toward natives, higher orientations toward their own minority, and perceive higher levels of discrimination. The total sample included 1,211 female participants (ethnic German diaspora repatriates and Turks in Germany, Russian Jewish diaspora migrants, and Arabs in Israel). We assessed homophily in strong and weak social network ties. Results revealed the highest homophily (for weak and strong ties) among Israeli Arab mothers and lowest among ethnic German diaspora repatriate mothers with the two other groups located in between the two. Use of majority language emerged as rather universal predictor related to both outcomes in all minority groups, whereas minority and majority orientation were outcome- or group-specific, respectively.

*Keywords:* ethnic homophily, diaspora, minority, intergroup relations, strong and weak network ties

## A Comparative Perspective on Mothers' Ethnic Homophily among Minority Groups in Germany and Israel

All over the world countries are host to various ethnic minority groups and often they not only profit from but also struggle with the integration of these diverse groups (Meissner & Vertovec, 2015). One of the best indicators of successful societal integration is the inclusion of majority members into ethnic minority members' social networks. Research has shown, for example, that contact between members of the minority and the majority can have beneficial effects on minorities' sociocultural adaptation, because it can reduce prejudice, decrease implicit and explicit racial bias, reduce discrimination, improve interactions between members of the two groups, and enhance minorities' access to resources and information (e.g., Aberson, Shoemaker, & Tomolillo, 2004; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Furthermore, according to Esser's (1980) theory on immigrants' adaptation, interethnic contact is accompanied by social participation and is the basis for success in the labor market, vertical mobility, and desegregation. However, despite these positive effects of interethnic networks, minorities tend to have high levels of intraethnic ties in their social relations, a phenomenon which is also known as ethnic homophily. In general, homophily "is the principle that contact between similar people occurs at a higher rate than among dissimilar people" (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook, 2001, p. 416). When we speak about homophily in this paper, we actually refer to ethnic homophily and refer to the share of intraethnic contacts among all contacts (McClintock, 2010; Titzmann, 2014). Given the evidence on the effectiveness of intergroup contact in improving minority-majority relations and in helping minority members to integrate into the majority-dominated society, more research is needed to understand how and under which conditions the ethnic boundaries in social relations could be broken. Such research profits from an applied perspective that takes into account the specific situation of minorities in a given context.

Two research questions related to the ethnic homophily in minorities' social networks were the starting point of our study. First of all, we were interested in examining differences in the level of homophily across different minority groups. Second, we wanted to identify predictors of homophily, in order to learn more about the operating mechanisms which are likely to produce interindividual differences within groups and whether these mechanisms are similar across minority groups. Such comparative research is overdue. Various researchers have repeatedly urged the field to conduct theory-driven comparative research (Berry, Kim, Minde, & Mok, 1987; Kohn, 1987; Phinney, Berry, Vedder, & Liebkind, 2006; Slonim-Nevo, Mirsky, Rubinstein, & Nauck, 2009) in order to identify similarities in adaptation and the generality of relationships on the one hand, and group-specific aspects of adaptation and limits of generality on the other. Nevertheless, past research on the topic of ethnic homophily often focused on single minority groups or, if research was comparative, the groups compared were rarely selected based on theoretical considerations. Titzmann and Silbereisen (2009), for example, studied ethnic German repatriate adolescents over time. Although the authors were able to identify a number of variables related to interindividual differences in friendship homophily, their research could not reveal whether or not the predictors identified were specific for this group or applicable to other groups in other contexts as well. Our study filled this research gap by comparing mothers of several migrant groups that were selected based on criteria such as societal segregation and cultural distance to the majority population.

The current study focused on the ethnic homophily of female minority groups. The focus on females was chosen for several reasons. First, although employment can provide opportunities of contact with society members in general, and majority members in particular, and although it is seen as a milestone for societal adaptation (Esser, 1980), female minority members are less often employed than male minority members (De Jong & Madamba, 2001; Kogan, 2011). As a result, their adaptation to the majority society may often be more difficult than that of males and deserves more research. Second, mothers seem particularly influential

for their offspring's development and adaptation. It has been shown, for example, that mothers spend more time with their children than fathers (Dubas & Gerris, 2002; Updegraff, McHale, Crouter, & Kupanoff, 2001) and that the relationship of a child with his or her mother is more stable than the relationship with the father (Rodríguez, Perez-Brena, Updegraff, & Umaña-Taylor, 2014). Mothers, thus, have a substantial impact on the cultural adaptation of future generations. In fact, the parental tendency to socialize with people from the own minority group significantly predicted the children's network homophily (Nauck, 2001). Thus, female members of the minority are not only an important group of investigation in itself, but also in relation to their potential influence on the future integration of the second generation. This societal function of mothers is particularly obvious when considering the substantially higher share of immigrants in the children and adolescent population as compared to the share of immigrants in the general population (e.g., Statistisches Bundesamt, 2014). This implies that increasing numbers of children and youth in modern societies are being raised by mothers belonging to ethnic minority groups.

### **Differences in the Level of Homophily across Minority Groups**

Our first research question focused on differences in the level of homophily between mothers of various minority groups. Research revealed that the societal adaptation of minority groups to a cultural context is not only a consequence of characteristics of the country of residence, but it also depends on characteristics of the specific minority group, including its cultural origins and history (Berry et al., 1987). Not surprisingly, minority groups differ in many ways, but any comparison should be undertaken by means of concrete comparison criteria and be theoretically embedded. Our research compared two dimensions that differentiate minority groups and have substantial impact on their adaptation: the level of ethnic segregation in a society and the cultural distance of a minority to the majority population.

Ethnic societal segregation implies that minorities in a country do not mingle with the majority population, but instead tend to live in segregated neighborhoods with a low percentage of native people and a developed intraethnic social infrastructure. It is expected that under such conditions minority groups will have decreased contact opportunities with people from the majority population and more contacts with people of their group.

Theoretically, this assumption is based on Blau's (1974) macrostructural theory and on Hallinan and Teixeira's (1987) opportunity hypothesis, and thus is backed by sociological and psychological theories. The empirical evidence, however, is less clear. Whereas Schlueter (2011) and Titzmann, Brenick, and Silbereisen (2015) found support for this assumption by showing that contact opportunities predict lower levels of homophily, other research did not find this association. Mesch (2002), for example, found no relationship in Israel between the percentage of Russian Jewish immigrants in the neighborhood and the likelihood of Russian Jews to have an Israeli friend. Despite the mixed evidence, the theoretical considerations lead us to expect that segregation makes it more difficult for members of a minority group to get into contact with people outside their minority group and will, therefore, lead to higher levels of homophily.

The second dimension we chose in order to compare minority groups for the study is their cultural distance to the majority population. Ethnic and cultural groups differ in this regard. Social-psychological theories assume that individuals act as members of their groups. If their identification with a group becomes salient, their behavior toward this group is expected to be more inclusive and supportive (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). We therefore expect minority groups who have a cultural bond to the majority (i.e., a small cultural distance) to display more social contacts with members of the majority, that is, lower levels of homophily, as compared to minority groups with a larger cultural distance to the majority society.

For our study, we identified four minority groups that represent a variation on both these dimensions of societal segregation and cultural distance to the majority population. We

operationalized the level of segregation, our first dimension, by investigating two countries which considerably differ in this regard: Israel and Germany. Israel is an immigration country which receives Jews (the so-called “olim”) from all over the world. The Law of Return grants every Jew the right to live in Israel and to gain instant citizenship. At the same time, the minority groups in Israel are residentially and socially highly segregated. This segregation can be seen in the substantial marriage homogamy (Nauck, 2001), the presence of media, political parties, or NGOs lobbying for specific minority groups (Al Haj, 2004), or the residential segregation of ethnic groups (Falah, 1996), which led to descriptions of some Israeli minority groups as caste-like minorities (Shavit, 1990). Minority groups in Germany do not exhibit this rather high level of societal segregation, and a comparable minority-centered infrastructure does not exist to a similar degree. Nevertheless, migration is a much debated topic in Germany, fueled by the fact that 19 percent of the total German population had a migration background in 2013 (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2014). In sum, the level of segregation can be assumed to be substantially higher in Israel as compared to that in Germany.

The relation of minority groups to the majority population, our second dimension, was defined by a comparison of so-called diaspora migrant groups with ethnic minorities of different cultural and religious heritage. Diaspora minority members "migrated or were driven from their native land (the "homeland"), and subsequently found their way to other places (a "diaspora") where, over lengthy time periods, they maintained their own distinct communities and dreamed of one-day returning to their Ancient Home" (Weingrod & Levy, 2006, p. 691). Thus, diaspora migrants perceive their immigration as a return to the territory of their ancestors. Diaspora migration is a growing phenomenon worldwide, but particularly in many European countries (Tsuda, 2009). Their cultural closeness (or low cultural distance) to the majority can be seen in the historical link to the majority population, but also in their motivation for immigration. Among ethnic German diaspora repatriates from the former Soviet Union, for example, 78% reported “to live as a German among other Germans ” as a



driving motivation to immigrate to their “homeland” Germany (Fuchs, Schwietering, & Weiss, 1999). The two diaspora groups investigated in this study were ethnic German diaspora repatriates from the former Soviet Union in Germany (also known as “Aussiedler”) and Russian Jewish diaspora immigrants in Israel. Both these groups share experiences of living in the former Soviet Union and the migration history that started in the 1990s, after the fall of the Iron Curtain.

Besides diaspora migrants, many societies also host minority groups with a larger cultural distance to the majority populations due to the distinct cultural or religious backgrounds. According to Feagin and Booher Feagin (2008), for such groups it is often the case that these groups are “singled out because of physical and/or cultural characteristics for differential and unequal treatment and whose members become objects of substantial discrimination” (p. 11). In our study, the minority groups with a larger cultural and religious distance to the majority were Arabs in Israel and Turks in Germany. Israeli Arabs constitute more than 20% of the Israeli population. Although they were born and raised in Israel, they are culturally distinct from the majority: The major religion is Islam and they are described as more collectivist and traditional (Feldman, Masalha, & Nadam, 2001; Lavee & Katz, 2003; Peleg & Rahal, 2012; Pines & Zaidman, 2003). Similarly, the Turkish minority in Germany is often seen as culturally rather distant from the German majority, because they are reported to be more collectivist and traditional (Güngör & Bornstein, 2009; Phalet & Schönplflug, 2001). In reality, immigrant Turkish males and females are assumed to develop an independent-related self, which is a combination of self-guidance and autonomy without giving up close relations to the family and ethnic community (Kagitcibasi, 2002). Also, the main religion of Turkish people in Germany is Islam whereas Christianity is the predominant religion in the majority population.

According to the considerations presented above, homophily is assumed to differ across groups depending on the level of societal segregation and cultural distance to the

majority population. Provided that both dimensions are equally weighed, Israeli Arab mothers are high on both dimensions that trigger homophily: They are culturally distant from the majority and live in a rather segregated society. On the contrary, ethnic German diaspora repatriate mothers are culturally close to the German majority (lower cultural distance) and they live in a less segregated society. Russian Jewish mothers in Israel and Turkish minority mothers in Germany score high on one of the two dimensions: The Russian Jewish mothers are highly segregated but culturally close to the majority, whereas the Turkish minority mothers are culturally distant from the host society but live in a less segregated society. As described earlier, we assume that segregation and cultural distance are reflected in the homophily of social networks. We therefore hypothesized that Israeli Arab mothers display the highest level of homophily and that ethnic German repatriate mothers display the lowest level of homophily. These two groups form the extremes and should significantly differ (Hypothesis 1). Russian Jewish mothers in Israel and Turkish mothers in Germany should, according to this logic, fall in between these extremes in terms of their level of homophily (Hypothesis 2).

These hypotheses were based on gender-unspecific mechanisms. The groups studied may, however, also differ in other criteria. One such criterion is the social constraints of female roles. Israeli Arab women, for example, are still restricted in their movements, lifestyles, work, and education, despite remarkable changes in recent years (Abu-Rabia-Queder & Weiner-Levy, 2013). Turkish women in Europe, although also often portrayed as socially constrained, have developed a rather modern lifestyle. This is documented by findings showing that young Turkish males and females in Germany develop a more independent-related self that values both autonomy and good intra-familial relations (Kagitcibasi, 2002). In addition, Turkish immigrants of both genders report the same level of social contacts as natives (van Tubergen & Volker, 2015), and find their partners predominantly through the same self-guided activities as natives (Titzmann & Silbereisen,

2015). Although some of our expectations on differences in ethnic homophily may be similar when either based on gender-unspecific mechanisms or on gender roles (e.g., high levels of homophily among Israeli Arab women), other expectations may not. We expected, for example, differences in homophily between ethnic German repatriate and Russian Jewish mothers based on levels of societal segregation and cultural distance, which would not be taken into consideration in a gender role framework.

### **Predicting Interindividual Differences in Homophily within Groups**

The focus thus far was on the comparison between groups. Mothers within groups, however, do not experience acculturation identically (Stoessel, Titzmann, & Silbereisen, 2014). Therefore, our second research question examined whether interindividual differences in the level of homophily can be explained by the same predictors across the minority groups studied. Two perspectives guided our expectations: the acculturation perspective and the intergroup perspective. Both these perspectives have been demonstrated to explain interindividual differences in homophily in other studies (Titzmann, 2014). The acculturation perspective suggests that better sociocultural skills, particularly with regard to the language of the majority, are a prerequisite for interethnic contact. Not only because language is a communication tool, but also because language transports an identity and helps understanding the other culture (Caldas & Caron-Caldas, 2002; Hochman & Davidov, 2014). Thus, a more frequent use of the majority's language was expected to be related to lower levels of minority mothers' homophily (Hypothesis 3). We based our study on language use as indicator of sociocultural adjustment rather than language competence, because using the majority language requires not only the linguistic competence, but also sociocultural competence (Celce-Murcia, 2007) as well as the willingness to use it in daily activities, even in private settings.

The intergroup perspective allowed additional predictions to be made. From the intergroup perspective, both the attitudes of the majority and of the minority group have to be

taken into consideration. Attitudes of minority members are often assessed by two dimensions, immigrants' willingness to have contact with their own group and immigrants' willingness to have contact with the majority group (Berry et al., 1987; Phinney et al., 2006). According to the theory of planned behavior (Armitage & Conner, 2001; Fishbein & Ajzen, 2010), such attitudes predict actual behavior (i.e., the creation of social contact with members of these groups), an assumption that was supported in earlier research on intergroup friendships among adolescent immigrants (Titzmann, 2014; Titzmann et al., 2015). Majorities' attitudes toward immigrants are most often reflected in immigrants' experiences of discrimination. Discrimination is the perception of being negatively treated because of one's membership in an ethnic or minority group (Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, Horenczyk, & Schmitz, 2003), and although it is a perception, research has shown that perceived discrimination does reflect the majorities' attitudes around immigrants (Brenick, Titzmann, Michel, & Silbereisen, 2012). Such experiences can result in a heightened identification with and withdrawal into the own minority groups (Jetten, Branscombe, Schmitt, & Spears, 2001). From this intergroup perspective, we predicted that lower majority contact orientation, higher minority contact orientation, and higher perceived discrimination are indicative of higher levels of homophily among mothers in all four minority groups (Hypothesis 4).

However, social relations take place in a whole environmental ecology (Bronfenbrenner, 2005). In order to represent this complexity in our study on minority homophily, we utilized Granovetter's (1973) distinguished sociological concept of the strength of social ties. According to him, social ties differ in strength. The strength of a social tie is defined by "a combination of the amount of time, the emotional intensity, the intimacy (mutual confiding), and the reciprocal services which characterize the tie" (p. 1361). Weak network ties function as a channel for "ideas, influences and information socially distant from ego" (Granovetter, 1973, p. 1370) and help in acquiring new information (Bakshy, Rosenn, Marlow, & Adamic, 2012). Individuals have only occasional contact to weak network ties

(who are acquaintances and loose contact persons). Strong network ties (friends and family), on the contrary, are very close to the individual. Strong ties are often not providers of new information, because their information and that of the individual are largely congruent, but they are able and available to provide instrumental and social support. In short, “weak ties provide people with access to information and resources beyond those available in their own social circle; but strong ties have greater motivation to be of assistance and are typically more easily available” (Granovetter, 1983, p. 209). Due to these different functions, weak ties are likely to bridge ethnic groups, whereas strong ties are more likely to exist *within* a particular (ethnic) group (Granovetter, 1973). Consequently, we distinguished between homophily in strong and weak network ties in our study.

## Methods

### Sample

The data came from the project “Regulation of Developmental Transitions in Second Generation Immigrants in Germany and Israel” undertaken as part of a large research consortium on “Migration and Societal Integration.” Data collection took place from autumn 2007 to spring 2008 among females belonging to four minority groups: Turks and ethnic German repatriates in Germany, and Israeli Arabs and Russian Jews in Israel. In Germany, females were randomly selected from data supplied by the registry offices in two large cities in different federal states in the west of Germany, which are known to host sufficiently large populations of the minority groups studied. Due to different data protection laws in Germany and Israel, we could not use the same sampling procedure in Israel. Instead, we relied on random digit telephone screening in Israel and, thus, the Israeli data included participants from various geographical regions in Israel. We were interested in the study of mothers: therefore, the criteria for inclusion in the study was membership in one of the minority groups of interest as well as having a child of kindergarten age, school age, or adolescence (for more information see Silbereisen et al., 2014; Titzmann et al., 2014). In both countries, all

participants were personally interviewed by specially trained bilingual interviewers. The final samples for this study consisted of 282 ethnic German repatriates from the former Soviet Union, 358 Turkish minority members in Germany, 281 Russian Jews in Israel, and 302 Israeli Arabs.

### **Measures**

The interviews were conducted at the mothers' homes and in the language the participants claimed to be most fluent in. Interviewers were provided with specific interview guidelines that contained the exact wording for the whole interview in both the ethnic and the majority languages. To ensure that both language versions were similar, a translation-back-translation method and additional pilot interviews in all ethnic groups were performed. Whenever inconsistencies emerged, they were discussed and resolved by experts working in the study. The interviews were comprehensive and addressed various issues ranging from general information about the background of the family, to cultural practices, and also included a substantial number of measures related to children's outcomes. Across all groups studied, the interview took about an hour (mean = 58 minutes) to complete.

**Ethnic homophily.** Mothers reported for each of their social contacts whether that person was from their own minority group or not. Ethnic homophily was defined for both weak and strong network ties as the percentage (between 0 and 100%) of minority ingroup network contacts among all network contacts (which determines the network size). This kind of definition has been previously implemented in research on friendship network homophily (Titzmann, 2014), and its validity has also been demonstrated when compared with other indices of ethnic preference in social relations (McCormick, Cappella, Hughes, & Gallagher, 2014).

The differentiation between weak and strong network ties was based on Granovetter's (1983) description of the different functions: Weak network ties provide new information, whereas strong network ties provide help and support. To assess weak network tie homophily,

we used a position generator that provided participating women with a list of professions that differed in prestige: nurse, engineer, doctor, hairdresser, teacher, unskilled laborer, secretary, musician/artist/writer, police officer, insurance agent, lawyer (Silbereisen et al., 2014; Titzmann et al., 2014). Position generators are common instruments in the social sciences to assess individuals' access to weak network ties (Tindall, Cormier, & Diani, 2012; van der Gaag, Snijders, & Flap, 2008; van Tubergen & Volker, 2015). Such instruments use occupations that differ in occupational hierarchy and status, because it is assumed that being familiar with a larger number of people of various occupations generates more social capital by having access to new and diverse information (van Tubergen & Volker, 2015). Participants were asked to indicate whether they know such a person, and if so, whether they at least know this person's name and could begin a short conversation with him or her if they met on the street. In addition, participants reported whether or not this person was a member of their own minority. Based on this information, the share of intraethnic minority weak network ties among all weak network contacts (weak tie network size) was calculated. Strong network ties were assessed in the following way: Participants were asked whether they could turn to someone to receive the following types of support: "Advice on legal matters, for example, administrative offices," "borrowing a larger sum of money," "advice about problems at work," "help in the form of accompaniment to an official appointment," "help with caring for your child." Support in these areas can be assumed to be provided by close network contacts according to the definition of strong network ties described earlier. In addition, mothers indicated whether or not this person belonged to their own minority group, and again, the share of intraethnic strong tie minority contacts among all contacts (strong tie network size) was assessed. Both homophily indices were positively correlated ( $r = .37$  across all groups), which was to be expected.

**Language use.** To assess the use of language, mothers were asked to report the language they use when talking with different persons. On rating scales ranging from 1 to 3,

they indicated their responses: 1 (*primarily the language of my own minority group* [Turkish, Russian, Arabic]), 2 (*equally*), 3 (*primarily the language of the majority* [Hebrew/German]). The score of each participant was then calculated as the mean for the responses to the four questions about the language they use with their *friends, relatives, partner, and child*. The scale showed acceptable reliability across all four minority groups (ethnic German repatriates,  $\alpha = .76$ ; Turks,  $\alpha = .71$ ; Russian Jews,  $\alpha = .76$ ; Arabs,  $\alpha = .87$ ). In addition, we performed a multiple group confirmatory factor analysis for the scale across the four groups to test for measurement invariance and whether the items have the same underlying factor structure. The scale was found to be comparable across the four groups. To assess model fit, we compared the difference of the comparative fit index (CFI) between models (i.e., the CFI difference [ $\Delta$ CFI]), because the chi-square difference test was found to be unreliable, particularly in large samples such as ours (Cheung & Rensvold, 2002). According to various authors, a  $\Delta$ CFI smaller or equal to 0.01 is considered to show equivalence of models (Byrne & Stewart, 2006; Cheung & Rensvold, 2002). The unconstrained model revealed a good model fit, CFI = .99, and constraining factor loadings to be equal across groups did not substantially change model fit,  $\Delta$ CFI = .01. This result, together with the reliability scores, supports the assumptions that this instrument is similarly applicable in all groups.

**Minority orientation.** Mothers were asked to respond to four questions regarding their acculturation orientation toward their minority on a well-established instrument developed by Ryder, Alden, and Paulhus (2000) with answer choices ranging from 1 (*I absolutely disagree*) to 6 (*I absolutely agree*). The questions assessed social activities, cultural practices, and values, for example “It is important for me to maintain or develop [Turkish/ Arab/ Russian] cultural practices.” The scale showed acceptable reliability across all four groups (ethnic German repatriates,  $\alpha = .75$ ; Turks,  $\alpha = .77$ ; Russian Jews,  $\alpha = .79$ ; Arabs,  $\alpha = .89$ ). The confirmatory factor analysis showed again a close fit of the model, CFI = .99.



Constraining factor loadings to be equal across groups did not change this result,  $\Delta\text{CFI} = .01$ . Thus, this scale was applicable and comparable across all groups studied here.

**Majority orientation.** Similar to the previous variable, the majority orientation was assessed based on four items of the same instrument by Ryder et al. (2000) with response options from 1 (*I absolutely disagree*) to 6 (*I absolutely agree*). Mothers were asked questions about their social activities, cultural practices, and values, for example, “It is important for me to maintain or develop [German/Israeli] cultural practices.” The scale showed acceptable reliability across all four groups (ethnic German repatriates,  $\alpha = .73$ ; Turks,  $\alpha = .74$ ; Russian Jews,  $\alpha = .83$ ; Arabs,  $\alpha = .86$ ). Again, we performed a confirmatory factor analysis and tested whether constraining factor loadings to be equal across minority groups changed the model fit. Results showed a close model fit of the unconstrained model,  $\text{CFI} = .99$ , and the change in model fit after factor loadings were constrained to be equal across groups was negligible,  $\Delta\text{CFI} = .00$ . Thus, this scale is also applicable and comparable across all groups studied.

**Perceived discrimination.** The measure of perceived discrimination was based on an index by Strobl and Kühnel (2000). Mothers reported their experiences of discrimination during the last 12 months by means of response options ranging from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*more than 10 times*). They rated their perceived discrimination at the university or workplace, governmental and official establishments, bars and restaurants, at the grocery store, and while communicating with neighbors. For our analyses, we used an index which described in how many of these situations the participants had experienced discrimination at least once during the last 12 months. We chose to use this index because past research has shown that stressors, such as discrimination, affect individual behavior especially when they occur across various domains of life (Loeber, Farrington, & Waschbusch, 1998).

**Control variables.** Educational attainment was assessed by one question on the highest level of completed education. Mothers indicated their level on an internationally comparable scale (ISCED Level 1 to 6) ranging from 0 (*no school leaving qualification*) to 6

(*doctoral studies*). The financial situation was assessed in a similar manner as the income-to-needs ratio used in earlier research on families' economic situation (Elder, Conger, Foster, & Ardel, 1992). Mothers judged what the family is able to afford ranging from 1 (*It's nowhere near enough*) to 5 (*I can afford to buy myself almost anything*). This measure was used in earlier research (Ullah, 1990) and seems to better capture the resources available for a family than the objective income. The income-to-needs ratio not only improves comparability across the different groups, it also seems to drive effects of resources on psychological functioning more than the objective income (Ullah, 1990). Network size was assessed by the absolute number of people across professions (weak network size) and the absolute number of people across the various support categories (strong network ties) that the respondent knew, independent of the minority this person belonged to (see homophily index). We controlled analyses for network size, because we wanted to reveal effects of predictors on ethnic homophily that are independent of the actual network size.

## Results

### Descriptive Analyses

First, we examined differences of various characteristics of mothers in the four minority groups. Table 1 displays a summary of various scores for each minority group and shows that there are no significant differences between the groups with regard to age. However, groups differed substantially in the level of education. The educational level was highest among Russian Jews in Israel and lowest for the Turkish minority in Germany. The differences in the financial situation of the groups were less pronounced, but Turks reported to be somewhat better off than the other three minority groups whereas Israeli Arabs displayed the lowest scores. These differences in educational and financial aspects correspond with demographic findings for these groups in earlier research (Citlak, Leyendecker, Schölmerich, Driessen, & Harwood, 2008; Habermeld, Cohen, & Kalter, 2011), which shows that our samples represent the populations in this regard.

Table 1 about here

We also compared the four minority groups in terms of their use of the majority language and group orientation. The use of majority language was highest among ethnic German repatriate mothers and lowest among Israeli Arab mothers. Minority orientation was highest among Turkish and Israeli Arab mothers and lowest among ethnic German repatriate and Russian Jewish mothers. Orientation toward the majority population was highest for ethnic German repatriates and lowest for Turks. In all four groups, majority orientation was significantly lower than minority orientation, a finding that corresponds with earlier research. It points out the strong bonds of ethnic minority groups to their own community, even for diaspora migrant groups (Phinney et al., 2006). For perceived discrimination, only the Israeli Arabs stood out by reporting significantly higher levels than all other groups.

### **Differences in the Level of Homophily across Minority Groups**

The first two hypotheses expected to find differences in the level of homophily across minority groups. We expected Israeli Arab mothers to display the highest level of homophily, ethnic German repatriate mothers to display the lowest level, and the levels of Russian Jewish and Turkish mothers to fall in-between these two minority groups. We expected to find this hierarchy of homophily for both strong and weak ethnic network contacts. To test this hypothesis, we performed a multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) with two dependent variables: ethnic homophily in strong ties and ethnic homophily in weak ties. The independent variable was mothers' minority group membership. A significant main effect of the minority group category was found in the multivariate test,  $F(6, 2044) = 26.07, p < 0.001$ . The between-subjects effects showed that homophily in weak ties,  $F(3, 1022) = 27.8, p < 0.001$ , and also in strong ties,  $F(3, 1022) = 39.9, p < 0.001$ , was significantly different between the groups. These differences are also illuminated in Figure 1. Post-hoc comparisons

of the level of homophily in weak network ties revealed that all groups differed significantly from one another ( $p < 0.05$ ), with the exception of Turkish and Russian Jewish mothers ( $p = 0.42$ ). As expected, the differences between Israeli Arab ( $M = 93.1$ ,  $SD = 12.1$ ) and ethnic German repatriate mothers ( $M = 76.4$ ,  $SD = 28.4$ ) were the most pronounced with the differences of Turkish ( $M = 83.2$ ,  $SD = 24.2$ ) and Russian Jewish mothers ( $M = 81.5$ ,  $SD = 18.8$ ) located between the two.

Figure 1 about here

The post hoc results for minority differences in strong network tie homophily were by and large also in line with expectations. Again, all groups differed significantly from one another ( $p < 0.05$ ), with the exception of ethnic German repatriate and the Russian Jewish mothers ( $p = 0.15$ ). As expected, Israeli Arab mothers ( $M = 95.8$ ,  $SD = 14.5$ ) reported a significantly higher level of homophily in strong network ties than ethnic German repatriate mothers ( $M = 77.8$ ,  $SD = 30.7$ ) with the levels of Turkish mothers ( $M = 88.8$ ,  $SD = 21.6$ ) located between these two extremes and the level of the Russian Jewish mothers ( $M = 74.3$ ,  $SD = 29.5$ ) located somewhat below the level of ethnic German repatriate mothers. Entering education, self-reported financial standing, age, as well as network size of strong and weak network contacts as control variables did not change this pattern of differences ( $M$ s weak ties: ethnic German repatriates = 76.2, Russian Jews in Israel = 82.6, Turks = 82.0, Israeli Arabs = 93.9;  $M$ s strong ties: ethnic German repatriates = 79.7, Russian Jews in Israel = 78.6, Turks = 84.9, Israeli Arabs = 96.0). These findings provide support for Hypothesis 1 (i.e., higher homophily among Arab Israelis than ethnic German repatriates) and partial support for Hypothesis 2. Hypothesis 2 stated that the homophily of Turks and Russian Jews would be located between the extremes of ethnic German repatriates and Israeli Arabs. For weak network ties this hypothesis could be fully supported for both Russian Jews and Turks, while

it could only be validated for Turks for strong network ties. In this respect, contrary to expectations, Russian Jews reported the same level of homophily as the ethnic German repatriates.

In addition to the comparisons across groups, we also tested whether the levels of ethnic homophily differed between strong and weak network ties within the groups by using repeated measures ANOVAs (with the two homophily indices representing the within-person variation). In three out of four groups, differences in the level of homophily were found. Among Turkish and Arab mothers, homophily was higher in strong as compared to weak network ties, which was to be expected given the nature of weak and strong network ties (Granovetter, 1973). Among the Russian Jewish mothers, however, the opposite was found: This group reported higher levels of homophily in weak as compared to strong network ties. Although the ethnic German repatriate group reported a nominally higher level of homophily in strong as compared to weak network ties, this difference was too small to reach significance. The high level of homophily for the Arab mothers in Israel combined with a low interindividual variation, was particularly striking, indicating a ceiling effect for this group.

### **Predicting Interindividual Differences in Homophily within Groups**

To explain interindividual differences in ethnic homophily within groups, we chose four predictors: use of the language of the majority group (German in Germany and Hebrew in Israel), majority orientation, minority orientation, and perceived discrimination. In our third hypothesis we expected a more frequent use of the majority language to be related to lower levels of homophily for all minority groups. Our fourth hypothesis stated that higher majority acculturation orientation, lower minority orientation, and lower perceived discrimination are related to lower levels of homophily for all minority groups. The dependent variable was the level of homophily in weak and strong networks ties. To test these hypotheses, we performed a regression analysis within a structural equation framework using the statistical software package AMOS (Arbuckle, 2011). Regressions were performed for three minority groups and

separately for strong and weak network contacts. Analyses were only performed for ethnic German repatriate, Russian Jewish, and Turkish mothers, but not for Israeli Arab mothers because there was hardly any variability in the level of homophily in the Israeli Arab group to be explained.<sup>1</sup> Skewness and kurtosis was, for example, much higher than commonly acceptable values (George & Mallery, 2010) among Israeli Arab mothers. In addition, when we constrained the variance parameters for weak and strong homophily to be equal across all four groups, the difference test was chi-square = 212.48 (3df) for weak and chi-square = 167.86 (3df) for strong ties. Releasing the equality assumption for the Israel Arab group improved model fit substantially for weak, chi-square = 31.37 (2df), and strong ties, chi-square = 37.59 (2df). Releasing the equality constraint for any other group changed model fit only marginally: For strong network ties: Equality released for Turks: chi-square = 159.73 (2df), for ethnic Germans: chi-square = 110.38 (2df), for Russian Jews: chi-square = 149.16 (2df). For weak network ties: Equality released for Turks: chi-square = 196.07 (2df), Ethnic Germans: chi-square = 156.99 (2df), Russian Jews: chi-square = 205.77 (2df). This shows the substantially different level of variance in the Israeli Arab group. Results of the regression analyses for the other groups are shown in Table 2.

Table 2 about here

Results revealed that the use of the majority language seems to be a universal predictor for homophily, because it was significantly associated with lower levels of homophily in five of the six analyses. For the group of Russian Jewish mothers the association between this majority language use and weak network tie homophily was marginally significant ( $p = .06$ ). Thus, the use of the majority language predicted both weak network tie homophily and strong network tie homophily for all groups of mothers. These results provided support for our third hypothesis. Minority contact orientation was associated

with higher levels of homophily in weak network ties in all groups, but was not associated with homophily in strong network ties. Thus, minority orientation turned out to be an outcome-specific predictor. The association of majority orientation with homophily was restricted to Turkish mothers, where it was associated with lower levels of homophily in both weak and strong ties. Thus, it was a predictor that was specific for one minority group. Perceived discrimination, our final predictor in these analyses, was not associated with homophily for any of the minority groups, neither in weak nor in strong network ties. Thus, the findings provided only partial support for Hypothesis 4. Since weak network tie homophily was slightly skewed, we performed a reflected and logarithmic transformation, as suggested in the literature (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996), and repeated the analyses, but results remained virtually the same.

### **Discussion**

Modern societies are increasingly confronted with ethnically diverse populations, and interethnic contacts are seen as a benchmark in efforts to reduce segregation (Aboud, Mendelson, & Purdy, 2003). The challenging task for empirical research is to disentangle group-specific as well as universal mechanisms in explaining levels of social integration. Such knowledge can only be gained through comparative research (Berry et al., 1987; Kohn, 1987; Phinney et al., 2006; Slonim-Nevo et al., 2009), but a substantial body of research on the adaptation of minorities either focuses on single groups or on rather heterogeneous groups, such as “the immigrants.” Comparative research involving several theoretically selected minorities can address issues of specificity and universality. Our study selected mothers from four minority groups based on the level of societal segregation (Israel-high vs. Germany-low) and the cultural distance to the majority population (diaspora migrants-close vs. religiously and culturally distant minorities-far) and investigated the level of homophily in strong and weak network ties. The results demonstrated clear differences in the level of homophily between the four minority groups, with Israeli Arab mothers displaying the highest

levels of homophily and ethnic German repatriate mothers displaying the lowest levels in both weak and strong network ties, as predicted. We were able to identify universal (language use), outcome-specific (minority orientation which predicted only weak network homophily), and group-specific (majority orientation which predicted both weak and strong network homophily only among Turkish mothers) variables to explain interindividual differences in the level of homophily within minority groups.

### **Differences in the Level of Homophily across Minority Groups**

Earlier research showed repeatedly minority groups' tendency to predominantly engage with members of their own ethnic group (McClintock, 2010; Titzmann, 2014). Not only do our results support this view, they also present a much more differentiated picture. In particular, the high level of homophily among Israeli Arab mothers was astonishing. Although we had expected this group to show the highest level of homophily, we did not expect it to be so high and homogeneous that it had too little variance left to be explained in regression analyses. We believe that the two dimensions mentioned earlier (large cultural distance to the Israeli majority and large societal segregation in Israel) do play a role in explaining the high levels, but are not sufficient. Additional factors have to be considered. These may be related to the fact that our study focused on females (with Arab women having more social constraints than males) or to political circumstances. Falah (1996), for example, argues that ideological and political barriers help in establishing and fostering the ethnic divide in Israel. One joint school system for both Israeli-Arabs and Israeli-Jews would help substantially in reinforcing a long-term collaboration, but is often perceived as a threat to the Jewish character of the Israeli society (Falah, 1996). Given the social tensions in the Israeli society, more research is clearly needed on the Israeli Arab population and how cooperation with the majority can be fostered. In future research, it may be wise to selectively sample Israeli Arab mothers with contact to the Israeli majority, in order to learn more about the mechanisms that are able to break the strong ethnic boundaries between groups in Israel. It



may also be useful to consider predictive models that are specifically developed for this group and take into account group-specific characteristics.

For all other groups, we also observed rather high levels of ethnic homophily (ranging between 74.3% and 88.8%) and, in general, the level of homophily was higher in strong as compared to weak network ties. Russian Jewish mothers were the exception in this regard, as this was the only group of mothers for which strong network tie homophily was significantly lower than weak network tie homophily. Although one should be careful not to overinterpret this result, one explanation relates to the relatively high education levels of Russian Jewish immigrants (e.g., Haberfeld et al., 2011), which was also found in our sample. Highly educated individuals seem to establish cross-group close friendships more easily (Hansell & Slavin, 1981), an association that was particularly strong among Russian Jewish mothers for strong network ties in our data (see Table 2). More research with a larger number of minority groups would be desirable to test whether education has specific effects in some ethnic groups. If the various ethnic groups studied in such research vary on several dimensions, multilevel models could be applied to determine which of these dimensions explains the group-level differences in homophily and, through cross-level interactions, in associations between single variables and homophily (Motti-Stefanidi, Berry, Chryssochoou, Sam, & Phinney, 2012).

### **Predicting Interindividual Differences in Homophily within Groups**

Group comparisons point out differences in minority segregation and can help in identifying specific target groups for reducing the level of homophily and improving societal integration. Our results on interindividual differences of homophily within groups add to these findings by providing further insights into how this aim can be achieved. First and foremost, using the majority language was a predictor for weak and strong network homophily across mothers from all groups. This association may be explained by the fact that language is not just a communication tool, but also a vehicle transporting identity and

understanding for another culture (Caldas & Caron-Caldas, 2002; Hochman & Davidov, 2014). The new language can, therefore, be seen as a universal mechanism in reducing levels of homophily among mothers' weak and strong network ties. Language courses that convey language proficiency are certainly a first step, because immigrants (whether mothers, fathers, or children) need to feel competent in expressing themselves before they begin to use the new language in private domains. In addition, however, there has to be a societal atmosphere in which members of minorities perceive that using the new language pays off.

Minority orientation was also predictive of homophily across all groups, but its effects were restricted to weak network ties. This outcome-specific association shows that there may be different mechanisms for establishing contacts in mothers' strong and weak network ties. More distant (weak) network contacts seem to be driven by the minority orientation—if a mother has a minority orientation, she is much more likely to talk to someone from the same minority on the street (which was the situation for assessing weak tie homophily). For strong network contacts (e.g., when it comes to borrowing money), other criteria are probably more important, such as mutual trust and a high relationship quality.

Majority orientation turned out to be a group-specific predictor, as it was only related to network homophily among Turkish mothers in Germany. In other words, only for the Turkish mothers, a strong wish for majority contact was associated with lower levels of weak and strong network tie homophily. The explanation for this finding may be found in the fact that Turks in general face substantial reservations in the German society, even more than other groups (Frankenberg, Kupper, Wagner, & Bongard, 2013). Under such circumstances an explicit wish for majority contact may be necessary to break the ethnic boundaries and establish contacts to majority members. Diaspora migrants, who face less negative stereotyping, may blend more easily into the majority societies whether or not they have intentions for majority contact.

The pattern of results shows that some mechanisms seem to be rather similar across groups of minority mothers, whereas others are group or outcome specific. To shed more light on why certain mechanisms operate for specific groups or type of network ties, future studies may profit from investigating various other minority groups that differ in their level of segregation, cultural distance, status, socioeconomic standing, or immigration history. These group-level variables could be used as moderators for processes operating on the individual level within multilevel analysis frameworks. Such models allow researchers to specify which of the group-level variables determines or moderates the effects on the individual level. An advantage of such research would be that analyses would move research further away from only carrying out within-group investigations toward group-level investigations and comparisons. Findings of such studies may provide researchers with new tools to develop interventions for reducing homophily among minority groups.

### **Strengths and Limitations**

Besides the several strengths of our research, such as the theoretically selected groups in two countries, the investigation of group differences and within-group variation among mothers, or the combined study of weak and strong network tie homophily, our study also has several limitations. The first limitation relates to the Arab minority sample, which showed a very high level of segregation from the Israeli majority—to such an extent that prohibited regression analyses to be conducted for this group. Future research should probably oversample Israeli Arab mothers who are low in ethnic homophily. This would allow the identification of predictors that differentiate between Israeli Arabs with high and low homophily and the comparison of these effects with those obtained here for ethnic German repatriate, Russian Jewish, and Turkish minority mothers. A second limitation relates to the differences in the sampling of the minority groups in two countries. In Germany we sampled mothers from two cities in West Germany, whereas the Israeli sample was based on randomized telephone interviews across a range of regions. These differences are rooted in

immigration and data protection policies. In Germany, for example, ethnic German repatriate immigrants are distributed across the country according to the regional economic power so that very few ethnic German repatriates are found in the eastern part, and these would hardly be reached through random telephone screening. Another issue of comparative field research is that we cannot completely rule out all potential alternative explanations. In our case, women belonging to different ethnic groups may also differ to some extent in the social constraints they face. However, although such constraints may affect some of the results, they are unable to explain the whole pattern of our findings. Indeed, Turkish females are in fact less constrained than often assumed (Titzmann & Silbereisen, 2015; van Tubergen & Volker, 2015), but nevertheless show rather high levels of strong tie homophily in our study. Future research may directly address additional explanatory factors of ethnic homophily, for example, by including assessments of individual women's social constraints. In addition, we used theories for our predictions that were not specifically developed for women. We assume that similar results would be found for other samples (e.g., males), but of course, this assumption remains to be tested.

A third limitation relates to the order of causality that we postulated in the study. We based our expectations on theoretical considerations. In many instances, however, effects can be assumed to be bidirectional. Language use, for example, can change the identity over time and thus enhance the likelihood of establishing contacts with majority members (Hochman & Davidov, 2014), but research has also shown the reverse effects of social contacts on language use over time (Michel, Titzmann, & Silbereisen, 2012). The advantage of taking this bidirectional perspective is that it provides two potential paths for possible interventions: fostering minority-majority contact and enhancing the use of the new language. Promoting both in concert may help activating the dynamic cycle of language use and contact.

Regardless of these limitations, our study showed how comparative research can contribute to the public and scientific debate of minority integration—assessed in our study by

low levels of social network homophily. The combination of psychological and sociological theories and methods in a real environment provides ecologically valid knowledge about the groups studied and points out their similarities and differences in acculturation processes. Indeed, the level of homophily was high, on average, for all the groups we studied. Assuming that the strong network ties assessed in our study refer to close friends, the high level of homophily in strong network ties seems alarming, because particularly close friendships have been shown to be beneficial in improving intergroup relations (e.g., Aberson et al., 2004; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Hence, it is an aim for future research to examine how a better balance between ingroup and outgroup contacts can be achieved. This balance ensures ingroup support from the ethnic community as well as the improvement of intergroup relations (reduction of prejudice, access to sociocultural knowledge). Nevertheless, although our focus was on mothers from the minority populations, a successful integration is not only the minorities' business. The majority group also needs to support their adaptation by encouraging intergroup contact (Berry et al., 1987) and creating an atmosphere where minorities feel home, safe, and able to prosper. Only if the minority and majority groups both work together, can homophily as well as mutual negative prejudices be reduced and societal cohesion achieved. Thus, research which also scrutinizes the conditions under which host society members stimulate contact with minority groups is equally important.

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Table 1

*Mean and Standard Deviations (in Parentheses) of Various Characteristics by Minority Group*

	Diaspora Minority, Cultural Minority, Germany		Diaspora Minority, Cultural Minority, Israel	
	Germany	Germany	Israel	Israel
Minority group (sample)	German Repatriates	Turks	Russian Jews	Arabs
	(N = 282)	(N = 358)	(N = 281)	(N = 302)
Age	35.54 (6.91) <sup>a</sup>	36.72 (6.34) <sup>a</sup>	35.92 (6.54) <sup>a</sup>	36.34 (7.57) <sup>a</sup>
Education	3.80 (1.05) <sup>a</sup>	1.79 (1.00) <sup>b</sup>	4.33 (1.13) <sup>c</sup>	2.91 (1.32) <sup>d</sup>
Financial situation	3.07 (.89) <sup>a,c</sup>	3.33 (1.02) <sup>b</sup>	3.19 (1.10) <sup>a,b</sup>	2.96 (.99) <sup>c</sup>
Network size weak ties	5.89 (2.68) <sup>a</sup>	5.41 (2.97) <sup>b</sup>	7.20 (2.75) <sup>c</sup>	8.48 (2.61) <sup>d</sup>
Network size strong ties	4.07 (1.50) <sup>a</sup>	3.74 (1.80) <sup>b</sup>	3.72 (1.78) <sup>b</sup>	4.19 (1.79) <sup>a</sup>
<i>Predictors</i>				
Use of majority language	1.57 (.53) <sup>a</sup>	1.35 (.42) <sup>b</sup>	1.36 (.43) <sup>b</sup>	1.05 (.21) <sup>c</sup>
Minority orientation	4.95 (1.03) <sup>a,b</sup>	5.16 (1.02) <sup>c</sup>	4.83 (.95) <sup>a</sup>	5.04 (.89) <sup>b,c</sup>
Majority orientation	4.81 (.96) <sup>a</sup>	3.88 (1.29) <sup>b</sup>	4.23 (1.12) <sup>c</sup>	4.11 (1.01) <sup>c</sup>
Perceived discrimination	.20 (.24) <sup>a</sup>	.19 (.25) <sup>a</sup>	.15 (.26) <sup>a</sup>	.37 (.34) <sup>b</sup>

*Note.* Numbers with different superscripts in each row differ significantly from one another ( $p < 0.05$ )



Table 2

*Unstandardized Regression Coefficients (Standard Error) of a Structural Equation Model Predicting Level of Homophily across Three Minority Groups (Ethnic German Repatriates and Turks in Germany, and Russian Jews in Israel) and the Strength of the Ties (Strong vs. Weak)*

[illegible]

Use of majority language	-21.74 (3.43)***	-12.05 (3.37)***	-5.47 (2.92)	-17.39 (3.87)***	-16.76 (2.88)***	-15.88 (5.11)**
Minority contact orientation	3.83 (1.72)*	3.05 (1.33)*	3.73 (1.40)**	3.73 (1.96)	-.48 (1.16)	1.32 (2.48)
Majority contact orientation	-1.20 (1.79)	-2.25 (1.04)*	-.79 (1.22)	-3.42 (2.02)	-1.87 (.90)*	1.42 (2.13)
Perceived discrimination	9.27 (6.42)	-1.24 (5.38)	8.32 (4.63)	11.47 (7.15)	-6.18 (4.65)	-1.73 (8.11)
R-squared model	.27	.09	.09	.20	.15	.23

*Note.* \*\*\*  $p < .001$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*  $p < .05$

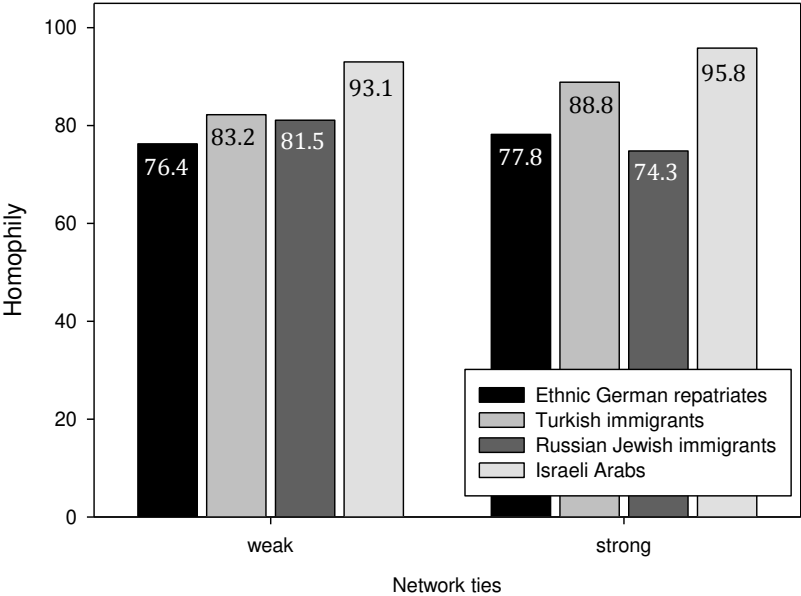


Figure 1. Mean differences in weak and strong network tie homophily for all four minority groups

## Appendix A

Table A1

*Bivariate Correlations of all Variables*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Age	1	-.25 **	-.06	.19**	-.02	.05	-.00	.04	-.05	.06	.01
2. Education	.23 **	1	-.11 *	.15**	-.17**	.26**	-.09	.05	.08	-.06	-.05**
3. Financial situation	-.18 **	-.21 **	1	-.11 *	-.03	-.14*	-.14*	-.15**	.00	-.00	.07
4. Weak tie network size	.14 *	.34 **	-.24**	1	-.01	.21**	-.01	.13*	.14**	-.09	-.07
5. Strong tie network size	-.13 *	-.02	.06	.07	1	-.15**	.14**	-.07	.11*	.05	.01
6. Use of majority language	.17 **	-.03	-.18**	.16**	.00	1	-.21**	.16**	.11*	-.24**	-.31**
7. Minority contact orientation	-.11	.13 *	.05	.04	.08	-.39**	1	.17**	-.08	.15**	.04
8. Majority contact orientation	.16 **	.25 **	-.09	.22**	.04	.21**	.29**	1	-.06	-.12*	-.15**
9. Perceived discrimination	-.04	.10	.02	.19**	.10	-.14*	.17**	.01	1	-.05	-.10
10. Weak network tie homophily	-.10	-.15 *	.11	-.15*	.08	-.48**	.28**	-.17*	.14*	1	.27**
11. Strong network tie homophily	-.08	-.18 **	.07	-.09	-.02	-.37**	.20**	-.18**	.14*	.47**	1

*Note.* Correlations above the diagonal refer to ethnic Turks, correlations below the diagonal to ethnic Germans; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*  $p < .05$ .

Table A2

*Bivariate Correlations of all Variables*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Age	1	-.40 **	.09	-.08	.02	.01	-.08	-.08	.02	-.03	.03
2. Education	.32 **	1	-.06	.26**	.02	.12*	.26**	.20**	-.03	.04	-.12*
3. Financial situation	.08	-.09	1	-.07	-.11	-.00	-.13*	-.11	.09	-.13*	-.04
4. Weak tie network size	.12	.25 **	-.11	1	.55**	.22**	.45**	.22**	-.47**	.13*	-.09*
5. Strong tie network size	.02	.20 **	-.03	.31**	1	.18**	.35**	.27**	-.53**	.28**	.01
6. Use of majority language	-.09	-.06	-.03	.07	.02	1	-.11	-.02	.00	.05	.00
7. Minority contact orientation	.01	.12 *	.06	.08	.19**	-.15*	1	.36**	-.48**	.16**	-.04
8. Majority contact orientation	.04	.12 *	.04	.19**	.17*	.17**	.38**	1	-.17**	.00	.03
9. Perceived discrimination	.03	.03	.10	.01	.08	-.01	.03	-.01	1	-.39**	-.11
10. Weak network tie homophily	.03	.01	.04	-.14*	.14	-.16**	.18**	-.01	.11	1	.19**
11. Strong network tie homophily	-.16	-.32 **	.09	-.20*	-.28**	-.23**	.01	-.08**	.01	.15	1

*Note.* Correlations above the diagonal refer to Arabs, correlations below the diagonal to Russian Jewish immigrants; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*  $p < .05$ .